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Mass. Hist. Society from Rob.t C. Winthrop.
Oct.r 8. 1863.

The Selling
OF
JOSEPH
A Memorial.

FORASMUCH *as* Liberty *is in real value next unto* Life: *None ought to part with it themſelves, or deprive others of it, but upon moſt mature Conſideration.*

The Numerouſneſs of Slaves at this day in the Province, and the Uneaſineſs of them under their Slavery, hath put many upon thinking whether the Foundation of it be firmly and well laid; ſo as to ſuſtain the Vaſt Weight that is built upon it. It is moſt certain that all Men, as they are the Sons of *Adam*, are Coheirs; and have equal Right unto Liberty, and all other outward Comforts of Life. GOD *hath given the Earth* [with all its Commodities] *unto the Sons of* Adam, *Pſal* 115. 16. *And hath made of One Blood, all Nations of Men, for to dwell on all the face of the Earth, and hath determined the Times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation: That they ſhould ſeek the Lord. Foraſmuch then as we are the Offspring of* GOD &c. *Act* 17.26,27,29. Now although the Title given by the laſt ADAM, doth infinitely better Mens Eſtates, reſpecting GOD and themſelves; and grants them a moſt beneficial and inviolable Leaſe under the Broad Seal of Heaven, who were before only Tenants at Will: Yet through the Indulgence of GOD to our Firſt Parents after the Fall, the outward Eſtate of all and every of their Children, remains the ſame, as to one another. So that Originally, and Naturally, there is no ſuch thing as Slavery. *Joſeph* was rightfully no more a Slave to his Brethren, than they were to him: and they had no more Authority to *Sell* him, than they had to *Slay* him. And if *they* had nothing to do to Sell him; the *Iſhmaelites* bargaining with them, and paying down Twenty pieces of Silver, could not make a Title. Neither could *Potiphar* have any better Intereſt in him than the *Iſhmaelites* had. *Gen.* 37. 20, 27, 28. For he that ſhall in this caſe plead *Alteration of Property*, ſeems to have forfeited a great part of his own claim to Humanity. There is no proportion between Twenty Pieces of Silver, and LIBERTY. The Commodity it ſelf is the Claimer. If *Arabian* Gold be imported in any quantities, moſt are afraid to meddle with it, though they might have it at eaſy rates; leſt it it ſhould have been wrongfully taken from the Owners, it ſhould kindle a fire to the Conſumption of their whole Eſtate. 'Tis pity there ſhould be more Caution uſed in buying a Horſe, or a little lifeleſs duſt; than there is in purchaſing Men and Women: Whenas they are the Offspring of GOD, and their Liberty is,

---------- *Auro pretioſior Omni.*

And ſeeing GOD hath ſaid, *He that Stealeth a Man and Selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he ſhall ſurely be put to Death.* Exod. 21. 16. This Law being of Everlaſting Equity, wherein Man Stealing is ranked amongſt the moſt atrocious of Capital Crimes: What louder Cry can there be made of that Celebrated Warning,

Caveat Emptor!

And

And all things conſidered, it would conduce more to the Welfare of the Province, to have White Servants for a Term of Years, than to have Slaves for Life. Few can endure to hear of a Negro's being made free; and indeed they can ſeldom uſe their freedom well; yet their continual aſpiring after their forbidden Liberty, renders them Unwilling Servants. And there is ſuch a diſparity in their Conditions, Colour & Hair, that they can never embody with us, and grow up into orderly Families, to the Peopling of the Land: but ſtill remain in our Body Politick as a kind of extravaſat Blood. As many Negro men as there are among us, ſo many empty places there are in our Train Bands, and the places taken up of Men that might make Husbands for our Daughters. And the Sons and Daughters of *New England* would become more like *Jacob*, and *Rachel*, if this Slavery were thruſt quite out of doors. Moreover it is too well known what Temptations Maſters are under, to connive at the Fornication of their Slaves; leſt they ſhould be obliged to find them Wives, or pay their Fines. It ſeems to be practically pleaded that they might be Lawleſs; 'tis thought much of, that the Law ſhould have Satisfaction for their Thefts, and other Immoralities; by which means, *Holineſs to the Lord*, is more rarely engraven upon this ſort of Servitude. It is likewiſe moſt lamentable to think, how in taking Negros out of *Africa*, and Selling of them here, That which GOD ha's joyned together men do boldly rend aſunder; Men from their Country, Husbands from their Wives, Parents from their Children. How horrible is the Uncleanneſs, Mortality, if not Murder, that the Ships are guilty of that bring great Crouds of theſe miſerable Men, and Women. Methinks, when we are bemoaning the barbarous Uſage of our Friends and Kinſfolk in *Africa*: it might not be unſeaſonable to enquire whether we are not culpable in forcing the *Africans* to become Slaves amongſt our ſelves. And it may be a queſtion whether all the Benefit received by *Negro* Slaves, will balance the Accompt of Caſh laid out upon them; and for the Redemption of our own enſlaved Friends out of *Africa*. Beſides all the Perſons and Eſtates that have periſhed there.

Obj. 1. *Theſe Blackamores are of the Poſterity of* Cham, *and therefore are under the Curſe of Slavery.* Gen. 9. 25, 26, 27.

Anſw. Of all Offices, one would not begg this; *viz.* Uncall'd for, to be an Executioner of the Vindictive Wrath of God; the extent and duration of which is to us uncertain. If this ever was a Commiſſion; How do we know but that it is long ſince out of Date? Many have found it to their Coſt, that a Prophetical Denunciation of Judgment againſt a Perſon or People, would not warrant them to inflict that evil. If it would, *Hazael* might juſtify himſelf in all he did againſt his Maſter, and the *Iſraelites*, from 2 *Kings* 8. 10, 12.

But it is poſſible that by curſory reading, this Text may have been miſtaken. For *Canaan* is the Perſon Curſed three times over, without the mentioning of *Cham*. Good Expoſitors ſuppoſe the Curſe entaild on him; and that this Propheſie was accompliſhed in the Extirpation of the *Canaanites*, and in the Servitude of the *Gibeonites*. *Vide Pareum*. Whereas the Blackmores are not deſcended of *Canaan*, but of *Cuſh*. Pſal. 68. 31. *Princes ſhall come out of Egypt* [Mizraim] *Ethiopia* [Cuſh] *ſhall ſoon ſtretch out her hands unto God*. Under which Names, all *Africa* may be comprehended; and their Promiſed Converſion ought to be prayed for. *Jer.* 13. 23. *Can the Ethiopian change his Skin?* This ſhews that Black Men are the Poſterity of *Cuſh*: Who time out of mind have been diſtinguiſhed by their Colour. And for want of the true, *Ovid* aſſigns a fabulous cauſe of it.

Sanguine tum credunt in corpora ſumma vocato
Æthiopum populos nigrum traxiſſe colorem.
Metamorph. lib. 2.

Obj. 2. *The* Nigers *are brought out of a Pagan Country, into places where the Goſpel is Preached.*

Anſw.

Anſw. Evil muſt not be done, that good may come of it. The extraordinary and comprehenſive Benefit accruing to the Church of God, and to *Joſeph* perſonally, did not rectify his brethrens Sale of him.

Obj. 3. *The* Africans *have Wars one with another : Our Ships bring lawful Captives taken in thoſe Wars.*

Anſw. For ought is known, their Wars are much ſuch as were between *Jacob's* Sons and their Brother *Joſeph.* If they be between Town and Town; Provincial, or National : Every War is upon one ſide Unjuſt. An Unlawful War can't make lawful Captives. And by Receiving, we are in danger to promote, and partake in their Barbarous Cruelties. I am ſure, if ſome Gentlemen ſhould go down to the *Brewſters* to take the Air, and Fiſh : And a ſtronger party from *Hull* ſhould Surpriſe them, and Sell them for Slaves to a Ship outward bound: they would think themſelves unjuſtly dealt with; both by Sellers and Buyers. And yet 'tis to be feared, we have no other kind of Title to our *Nigers. Therefore all things whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do to you, do ye even ſo to them: for this is the Law and the Prophets.* Matt. 7. 12.

Obj. 4. Abraham *had Servants bought with his Money, and born in his Houſe.*

Anſw. Until the Circumſtances of *Abraham's* purchaſe be recorded, no Argument can be drawn from it. In the mean time, Charity obliges us to conclude, that He knew it was lawful and good.

It is Obſervable that the *Iſraelites* were ſtrictly forbidden the buying, or ſelling one another for Slaves *Levit.* 25. 39, 46. *Jer* 34 8. ..... 22. And GOD gaged His Bleſſing in lieu of any loſs they might conceipt they ſuffered thereby. *Deut.* 15. 18. And ſince the partition Wall is broken down, inordinate Self love ſhould likewiſe be demoliſhed. GOD expects that Chriſtians ſhould be of a more Ingenuous and benign frame of ſpirit. Chriſtians ſhould carry it to all the World, as the *Iſraelites* were to carry it one towards another. And for men obſtinately to perſiſt in holding their Neighbours and Brethren under the Rigor of perpetual Bondage, ſeems to be no proper way of gaining Aſſurance that God ha's given them Spiritual Freedom. Our Bleſſed Saviour ha's altered the Meaſures of the ancient Love-Song, and ſet it to a moſt Excellent New Tune, which all ought to be ambitious of Learning. *Matt.* 5. 43, 44. *John* 13 34 Theſe *Ethiopians,* as black as they are; ſeeing they are the Sons and Daughters of the Firſt *Adam,* the Brethren and Siſters of the Laſt ADAM, and the Offspring of GOD; They ought to be treated with a Reſpect agreeable.

Servitus perfecta voluntaria, inter Chriſtianum & Chriſtianum, ex parte ſervi patientis ſæpe eſt licita, quia eſt neceſſaria : ſed ex parte domini agentis, & procurando & exercendo, vix poteſt eſſe licita: quia non convenit regulæ illi generali: Quæcunque volueritis ut faciant vobis homines, ita & vos facite eis. Matt. 7. 12.

Perfecta ſervitus pœnæ, non poteſt jure locum habere, niſi ex delicto gravi quod ultimum ſupplicium aliquo modo meretur : quia Libertas ex naturali æſtimatione proxime accedit ad vitam ipſam, & eidem a multis præferri ſolet.

Ames. Caſ. Conſc. Lib. 5. Cap. 23. Theſ. 2, 3.

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